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TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM

GUIDELINES

FOR JUNIOR AND SENIOR
HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

A PUBLICATION OF THE
JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION
ASSOCIATION AND THE AMERICAN LEGION

THIS PUBLICATION HAS BEEN SENT
ON THE BASIS OF
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TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM

Guidelines for Junior and Senior High School Teachers

by the

Joint Committee of

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

and

THE AMERICAN LEGION

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For content, or for any errors in fact or interpretation the Joint Committee assumes responsibility.

—D. W. T.

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Guidelines for Junior and Senior High Schools

Introduction

The American heritage, rich in its traditions of freedom and respect for the individual, is a source of pride to American citizens. Teaching of the American heritage has long been a responsibility of the schools. This teaching should be continued. It strengthens understandings of American traditions and values. It provides the soundest basis for examination of the basic issues that are at stake in this world struggle between individual freedom and totalitarianism.

The rising threat of communism has caused individual citizens, as well as various national groups, to examine closely the basic positions of the protagonists. It is natural that The National Education Association, the world's largest professional group, should concern itself with the problem for in America education and the democratic processes are closely related. It is also natural that The American Legion composed of individuals who served their country in time of war, should address itself to the problem. These men and women who risked their lives in defense of freedom are loathe to see it destroyed through ignorance. Both organizations are on record indicating their desire to have our educational system examine closely the democratic process in contrast with the communistic process. The two organizations are on record in the following manner:

TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM

THE AMERICAN LEGION

"WHEREAS, The American Legion is vitally interested in the preservation of the fundamental principles of Americanism for the present and succeeding generations of citizens of these United States; and

"WHEREAS, it is the belief of The American Legion that there should be a regular course of instruction in each high school in the United States, and its territories and possessions, which would; first, clearly delineate the principles and policies which constitute the American system and why they are sound; and second, teach the elements that comprise the communist system and why they are evil, therefore,

"Be it resolved that the National Executive Committee does hereby urge each department, district, and post of The American Legion to work with its education officials to the end that every public and private secondary school in the United States and its territories and possessions will institute as a part of its regular curriculum, suitable courses designed to deepen understanding of and loyalty to American democratic ideals and institutions and expose the fallacies of communism."

—Resolution adopted by The American Legion, National Executive Committee, Register No. 23, November 20-26, 1957.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

"The National Education Association strongly asserts that all schools have an obligation to teach the rights, privileges and the responsibilities of living in a democracy.

"As a measure of defense against our most potent threat, our American schools should teach about communism and all forms of totalitarianism, including the principles and practices of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party in the United States . . .

"The responsibility of the schools is to teach the value of our American way of life, founded as it is on the dignity and worth of the individual; our youth should know it, believe it and live it continuously . . .

"The Association charges the teaching profession with the obligation of providing the best defense of democracy through full participation in making democracy really live and work.

"The Association again reminds the public of the repeated pronouncements of our military leaders and statesmen that education is the basis of our national security and that a well planned, adequately supported system of free public schools is fundamental to the perpetuation of the American way of life."

—Excerpts from platform and resolutions adopted at the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association, San Francisco, Calif., July 6, 1951.

"The program of the National Education Association is directed toward the following goals:

"(1) Educational opportunity for every individual to develop his full potential for responsible and useful citizenship and for intellectual and spiritual growth.

"(2) Balanced educational programs to provide for the varied needs and talents of individual students and for the strength and progress of the nation . . .

Instructional programs which teach about—but do not advocate—communism and all forms of totalitarianism . . ."

" . . . At the heart of a profession dedicated to the welfare of students lies respect for the human personality and for the continuing pursuit of truth. Members of the Communist party, therefore, bar themselves from the teaching profession.

Communists may not join the National Education Association, nor should they be permitted to teach in American schools . . ."

—Excerpts from platform and resolutions adopted at the Representative Assembly of the National Education Association, Atlantic City, N. J., June 30, 1961.

The American Legion and the National Education Association have a long history of cooperative effort in planning for the betterment and improvement of American public education. A Joint Committee representing these two associations has been at work continuously since 1921. The Joint Committee believes that there is great need to impart clear understandings and to motivate sturdier commitments by all Americans who are now called to defend and to pass on to their successors our precious American heritage and the increasingly rewarding future that democracy offers to this generation and to the world of tomorrow. This view is held by many other responsible American organizations. For example, the American Bar Association, through a resolution adopted February 20, 1961, by its House of Delegates said, "Now, Therefore, Be it resolved by the American Bar Association: (1) That through our members and the cooperation of state and local bar associations we encourage and support our schools and colleges in the presentation of adequate instruction in the history, doctrines, objectives and techniques of communism, thereby helping to instill a greater appreciation of democracy and freedom under law and the will to preserve that freedom."

Three times in this century American fighting men and women have been engaged in military resistance against forces of oppression. In each instance this nation was resisting power structures built upon the sacrifice of individual rights and dictatorial usurpation of government functions by small and powerful groups which dominated the bulk of the population and perpetuated power through force of arms.

American youth must examine the framework of its freedom, look around the world it has inherited, become acquainted with conflicting ideologies and then make ^{crit} knowledgeable comparisons. It is the teachers' responsibility to challenge them to do so. Our loyalties must be rooted in knowledge and understanding, not in ignorance and prejudice. Thoughtful American citizens realize that our institutions will not suffer by comparison with those of any communist country or of any country under the domination of communism. The more American citizens know ^{more} about communistic doctrine and purposes, as well as the advantages offered by our own democratic government, the deeper will be the loyalties to our government and to its traditions and ideals.

Among a truly free people it is believed that a brief, honest, realistic comparison of democratic and communist principles and practices needs ^{an} but to be placed before those who are free to think; for in the realm of free thinking, nothing is so potent as simple truth. The seriousness of

the situation indicates the need for every youth of this generation to become informed concerning the underlying philosophies, the basic practices and the ultimate purposes of these two opposing systems. These two significant forces are now shaping the destiny of the world's future.

The material in this manual is not designed to be a teaching unit. The members of the Joint Committee believe that writing such a unit is not properly the function of such a committee. Preparation of teaching units is a responsibility of the professional educator. The purpose of this manual is to provide some guidelines and some form of assistance which will enable a teacher to select materials and to make presentations which will be effective, honest and realistic. A great deal has been written about communism in this country. So much, in fact, that it would be impossible in a manual as brief as this to review effectively the literature on the subject. Furthermore, these sources are continually changing and new materials are being developed.

It is the hope of the Joint Committee that these guidelines, accompanied by some resource materials, will be useful for the teacher charged with the tremendous responsibility of helping safeguard the American heritage through education. The task is not a simple one and it would be misleading to suggest that it is. There are various gradations of democratic procedure among the several countries in the world which practice democracy just as there appear to be differing interpretations of communistic dogma by various national groups committed to communism.

One realizes quickly there are no simple, permanent, miraculous answers to the problems facing free men in the highly complex, rapidly changing and frustrating world of the twentieth century.

Democracy is not a form of government which can be achieved either by memorizing and promoting cliches or by repression and intimidation. What democracy has to offer the contemporary world and the future is a method by which rational man can associate himself through intellectual, political, economic and social freedoms, with the processes of governmental authority. While this method can never assert itself with such apparent self-assurance as the dialectical materialism of communism, it is the only method by which free men can survive in a free society.

The right to think as one wills, to speak as one thinks and the willingness to exercise these rights are requisite to the survival of free men in

a free society. These rights are indispensable to the accomplishment of the purposes of education in the free society, wherein the only effective answer to evil counsel is the free exercise of good counsel. Unfortunately, however, there are those who would smother the free spirit of America under the guise of combating communism; they would stifle free discussion and the search for truth; they would deny dissent; they would impose patriotism by any means at their command; they would willingly use the means they most vociferously condemn when used by the communists.

In the FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, October 1, 1961, Director J. Edgar Hoover wrote, "Unfortunately, some people try to resolve the problem by falling into the very error that the communists are so careful to avoid. They concentrate on the negative rather than the positive. They are against communism without being for freedom. They are against ignorance without being for education. They are against sin without being for God."

"It might be well for these persons to realize that Hitler was also against communism. However, what he stood for is the basis of history's judgment."

Both the National Education Association and the American Legion believe that the threat to this country from communism can and will be met. Both organizations have implicit confidence in the integrity, loyalty and competence of state and local school officers, school administrators and teachers to develop effective means by which communism can be accurately and honestly identified and presented to the youth of America. While this report offers a few substantive suggestions which it is hoped will lead to more profound studies, its basic message is a reaffirmation of faith in the right of the individual to work out his own destiny under God in a society where the individual is of highest importance. It is a reaffirmation of faith in the effectiveness and reliability of the democratic method and democratic government and a reaffirmation of faith in the power of enlightened free men.

In launching and maintaining a program of education about communism and its dangers careful thought must be given to study materials. The following guidelines are offered as suggestions.

GUIDELINE ONE

Use the rich heritage of history in introducing the subject. Study particularly the concept of the law as it has developed throughout civilization. From earlier history there are such examples as the Code of Hammurabi, the Ten Commandments and the development of Roman law. From England come the traditions of the development of the common law, the signing of the Magna Charta of 1215, the Bill of Rights which Parliament passed in 1689. From American history come such examples as the Mayflower Compact, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Law as an instrument of public expression and law as a protector of individual rights is the crowning glory of democracy. There is perhaps no better way to begin than by tracing the gradual emergence of human liberty under law. The protracted struggles of mankind with various forms of tyranny afford an invaluable perspective.

In studying the history of communism it must be remembered that modern communism has many antecedents. Even Plato in his *Republic* envisioned a society which in some of its aspects would appeal to a modern communist. Throughout history, various individuals have advocated Utopian socialistic ideas. For example Gerrard Winstanley, a 17th century Puritan, emphasized the possibility of perfecting man by eliminating property rights. The Levellers or "Diggers" of Cromwell's day held this position. The term communism itself was coined in the 1830's by the secret revolutionary societies in France.

The "Bible" of modern communism is a work, which appeared in 1848 edited by Karl Marx and his associate, Friedrich Engels. The *Communist Manifesto* caustically criticized both "Bourgeois liberalism" and "Utopian socialism" and went on to expound a scientific socialism or communism as the authors preferred to call it. The *Communist*

Manifesto, attracted little attention in 1848. Nevertheless, Marx spent most of the rest of his life re-enforcing the doctrine which had been advocated in the *Communist Manifesto*. The focal point of his attack was on nineteenth century capitalism. Many of his views are therefore out-of-date since the nature of capitalism has changed greatly in the last century. His lengthy treatise *Das Kapital* is primarily an exposition of his theories of economics as well as those of Friedrich Engels, who continued the series after the death of Marx.

Karl Marx founded a communistic organization known as the International Working Men's Association. Communists today refer to this as the First International. It was made up of certain workers in Europe as well as in the United States. Its membership was never large. The organization was founded in 1864 and was dissolved in 1876. This was succeeded by a movement which seemed most successful in Germany, known as the Social Democratic Party. This party which was pledged to Marxian Socialism grew rapidly in Germany from the time it emerged in 1875 until 1914. It became the model for similar political organizations of Marxians in other parts of the world. These groups organized themselves in 1889 into an international federation which is referred to as the "Second International." The "Second International" developed divergent movements within Marxian socialism. Certain "right wing" groups known as revisionists or reformists believed in cooperating with other political parties in any action which would strengthen popular government and advance the socialization of industry. This segment would be similar to some of the modern socialist groups existing in the world today. Another wing of the "Second International", however, urged a movement towards the left. According to this group, since the socialists lacked a numerical majority, they should intensify the class struggle, precipitate revolutions, and thus set up a dictatorship of proletariat. Left wing advocates of the proletarian revolution (Bolsheviks) were able to get control of the party in 1903 from the "orthodox" socialists (Mensheviks). In 1919 this left-wing group formed a world organization in Moscow which was in open rivalry with the old "Second International" and became known as the "Third or Communist International". This "Third International," sometimes known by its abbreviation "Comintern", had its headquarters in Moscow and all affiliated parties throughout the world looked to it for leadership and instructions. The "Third International" was abolished in 1943 but was reconstituted as the Communist Information Bureau after World War II with approximately the same functions. This is sometimes known by its abbreviation "Cominform" and was dissolved in 1956. Through the "Comintern," the

GUIDELINES for SELECTING CONTENT

"Cominform," and other secret but apparent channels such as the present Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, has been able to establish itself as the coordinator and director of communist activities the world around. It has demanded absolute and unconditional obedience on the part of communists everywhere. The result has been that communist governments established in other countries have generally proved subservient to Soviet Communist interests. The hierarchial character of communism's structure and the way it crosses national boundaries makes the Soviet party a dangerous and effective instrument for subordinating non-Russians to Russian interests and exploitation. The economic exploitation of Soviet satellite nations today is an example in point. It is too early to say whether other national groups committed to communism will be able to resist these pressures.

In addition to the writings of Karl Marx, much has been added to communist political thought by the writings of Vladimir Ilyitch Ulyanov (Lenin) who expounded many theoretical ideas based upon the thinking of Karl Marx. While accepting the same long-range goal, Lenin made substantial modifications and additions to Marx's theories. Marx had predicted the economic collapse of capitalism and its replacement by "socialism." Yet at the end of the nineteenth century capitalism was stronger than ever. Lenin argued, therefore, that capitalism had temporarily postponed its inevitable demise by exploiting the colonial countries outside Europe and North America. He called this imperialism. Lenin held that it permitted capitalists to bolster sagging profits and impose their wills behind the facade of democracy. Moreover Lenin stated that communist leaders must inspire and lead the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, since capitalism tends to subvert the workers by means of monetary concessions offered by the capitalists from their excess profits. These theories of "imperialism" and "proletarian consciousness" remain as central parts of communist doctrine today. Therefore, communist doctrine today is customarily called Marxism-Leninism since much of the thinking rests upon the ideas of these two individuals.

GUIDELINE TWO

Include the philosophy and terminology of communism in your study. Marxian theory is based upon four principal ideas. These are commonly called (1) historical materialism, (2) dialectical materialism, (3) surplus value and the (4) class struggle. Historical materialism is the interpretation of history which holds that the nature of political and social institutions is molded by the economic forces upon which they rest. Dialectical

materialism is the communists term for their ideas about social change. This is based upon ideas of the German philosopher, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. In brief, Hegel felt that every idea could be stated as a thesis which tended to become extreme. This would then give rise to its conflicting counterpart known as an anti-thesis. The conflict between the two could only be resolved by taking a third step known as synthesis—fusing the two. Ludwig Feuerbach gave this dialectic thinking a materialistic form from which Karl Marx adapted it as the foundation of communist philosophy. The error of Hegel and his followers lies, of course, in regarding the state as an end instead of a means, as an expression instead of an instrument.

The theory of surplus value is an economic theory. It holds that labor is the sole source of value. According to this theory, labor receives less in wages than the total value it creates and this surplus value is appropriated by the capitalist who thereby exploits labor. This according to Marxism creates the inequities of a capitalist society. The theory of the class struggle is an outgrowth of Marx's view that economic interests, reflected in social classes, are the predominant forces in society. History is seen as a conflict between the classes controlling economic power and the dispossessed classes. The intellectual foundations of communist theory therefore rest upon ideas developed from their interpretations of history, philosophy, and economics. These ideas are not based upon objective evidence but upon dogma developed from "laws of social development" expounded by Marx, Engels and Lenin.

According to communist theory, history is simply the record of one class exploiting another only in its turn to be overthrown and succeeded by another class. The development of the factory system has created a proletariat of workers who will eventually fight the capitalist class and destroy it. When this day comes, the government will own and operate all economic means of production and exchange. Eventually all bourgeois institutions will disappear, but in the meantime the scientific communists must prepare the proletarians for their victory. They must urge them to become active in the class struggle in order to wage war with the capitalists. Says the *Communist Manifesto*, "The communists disdain to conceal their views and claims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

The study should take account of the different historical and geographical situations in which communists have seized power and applied their theories.

It is important to recognize that the philosophy discussed above has been put into practice in such differing areas as Russia, Eastern Europe, Asia and Cuba. Thus, although the basic ideas and methods of communist societies are largely identical, there are significant practical differences in the policies and operation of each system arising from the specific cultural and historic context in which each operates. For example, certain characteristics of Chinese communism differ from the Soviet model. Minimizing these differences and maintaining unity and cohesiveness may well be one of the big challenges facing communist leaders.

Any study of communism must include a careful study of semantics or word meanings. Communists use many words which are used by peoples in democratic countries, but the meaning they attach to these words are entirely different. Certainly an American dictionary meaning of a word is no guarantee that this will closely resemble the communist's use of the same word. When the communists speak of democracy, they are really speaking of communism and when they are speaking of fascism they are speaking of any non-communist social and political systems. Capitalism to them means any non-communist system. Imperialism means a non-communist system actively opposing the spread of communism.

Wordsmanship—Semantics as a Communist Weapon (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., price 15 cents) says:

"Thus, like the zebra which has a day and night bark, the Communists are using different languages to suit their audiences. In their external communications they talk sweetly about cooperation, disarmament and peace. But when they talk to each other their internal language concerns itself with winning the struggle for the world through force, violence, and war. To the Communists, words are tools to achieve effects, not means to communicate in search of truth."

GUIDELINE THREE

Analyze the constitution, the government and the power structure of communist countries. Many communist countries, like non-communist countries, have constitutions. A constitution in itself is no guarantee that a country will be a non-communist nation. For example, the constitution of the Soviet Union should be studied with considerable attention given not only to the document itself, but to the nature of the communist power structure which is connected with the government. The key to

any understanding of communism lies in the methods available to the Communist party for the formulation and direction of all policy. In the United States there are political parties. The political parties are instruments to debate policy and elect candidates and a means for popular participation in government. In the Soviet Union this is reversed for the government is the arm of the Communist party.

The study of the Soviet government should include a study of courts and the administration of justice. Although the rights of a citizen may appear to be protected by statements in the constitution of a communist country, on many occasions these rights have been arbitrarily violated and extra-legal force has been used against individuals or groups.

GUIDELINE FOUR

Study, compare and contrast the economic systems of communist and non-communist countries. Central to communism is a controlled economic system dedicated to achieving certain goals set by the Communist party. Americans must possess a sound understanding of their own economic system and thereby be capable of forming judgments concerning it and a competing system such as communism. The characteristics of the communist system are fairly easy to discover. The state, with but few exceptions, owns the land, the industries, the transportation and all means of production. The allocation of resources is controlled by an elaborate central plan and prices are set by those who make the plans. Individual economic incentives exist in some forms but do not include the ownership of capital goods. Economic policy has been geared to the requirements of political and military power. This system has not been without its successes. In approximately forty years the U.S.S.R. has lived through an industrial revolution and in many respects is one of the world's great economic powers. Khrushchev's boasts of catching up and surpassing America are well known to most Americans. The achievements, however, have been won at high cost: the ruthless suppression of individual rights and intellectual freedom, the sacrifice of several million lives in the collectivization and purges of the 1930's and the hardships and deprivation involved in low standards of living.

The most difficult part of the teaching assignment will lie in teaching the theory which underlies capitalism as it is understood and carried out in the United States and communism as it has been developed by

Marx, Engels, and Lenin. However, a study of any communist economy, is meaningless unless there is also an understanding of various forms of capitalist economy.

GUIDELINE FIVE

Study Communist usage of social institutions such as the home, the church, and the school. The home, as communists see it, is a place where the parents and senior members of the family play an important part in the training of the child in communist morality. Child care and training are only an extension of the activities of the Communist party, and the home is not considered to be the foundation of the society itself as it is generally considered in most non-communist areas. Women play a vital role in the working force, and much of the child's upbringing is delegated to the nursery school and other state institutions. The draft program of the Soviet Communist Party as presented at the 22nd Party Congress in Moscow states that.

"The Communist system of public education is based upon the public upbringing of children. The educational influence which the family exerts on children must be brought into even greater harmony with their public upbringing."

Since religion teaches that there is a divine authority above all other authority, the communists are dedicated to the destruction of all forms of religion. In the Soviet Union the situation was favorable to the destruction of religion since under the Czarist regime the Russian Orthodox church was in many respects closely allied to the unpopular government itself. Religion is tolerated to the extent that some churches and a few synagogues do exist. While the Soviet constitution of 1936 recognizes "freedom of performance of religion cults and freedom of anti-religious propaganda", the activities of religious groups are very much limited. Communist youth organizations carry on anti-religious campaigns and in general the thought behind communist toleration of religion is that the older generations, still adhering to religious ideas and practices of their childhood will ultimately die out, leaving only the younger generations who, through social pressures will have been weaned away from all forms of religious thought. Similarly in China the age-old religious traditions are being destroyed. Communism is a completely earth-centered ideology with no place in it for any religious orientation. The communist regime has learned how it can use the church as a tool. Under the Czarist regime there was a synod of metropolitans directed

by a political appointee of the Czar. The same situation exists today with a council of Soviet metropolitans or a so-called council for church affairs which is directed by a communist administrator. The cynical use of a church organization as a tool to achieve the eventual elimination of religion should be included in any study of communism.

The Soviet constitution of 1936 specifies that it is the right of all citizens to receive an education. The constitution states "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education. This right is guaranteed by universal, compulsory education; by free seven year education; by a system of state stipends to outstanding students in higher schools; by the conducting of instruction in the native language; by the organization in factories, state farms, and collective farms of free vocational, technical, and agronomical training to the workers." Education is used by the communists as an instrument to accomplish their purposes. They have great faith in the power of education—not, primarily, for the benefit of the individual but for the benefit of the state. The communists can correctly be given credit for having vastly improved educational opportunities in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, it must be pointed out that the Soviet Union inherited from Czarist Russia a vigorous intellectual tradition and a history of attempts to universalize education. Some of the educational progress which the communists claim for themselves is really based upon the educational efforts of the Czarist regime which they now disown. Education is considered only as an arm of the Communist party. Teachers are expected to be ardent supporters of Marxism-Leninism and favorable interpreters of the Communist party's policies. Students and teachers do not openly question the contents of textbooks and other subject matter since this is approved in advance by the central committee of the Communist party and by the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. Thus the achievements in education have been accompanied by loss of freedom of inquiry and of individual dignity. In areas such as the biological sciences there is evidence of distortion of the science if it does not conform to communist theory. In the cultural areas of literature, art and music there must be conformity to the arbitrary framework of ideas erected by the party.

GUIDELINE SIX

Study the foreign policies of the communists. The late Al Smith invited people to "look at the record". Study the record of the communists in the United Nations. Study about Russia in her relations with

Hungary and Finland and Poland and Tibet. Study the story of Korea, Cuba, Germany and of Southeast Asia.

The danger to the teacher working in this area stems from the difficulty of disengaging the foreign policy of various communist nations from contemporary American politics. Gerhart Niemeyer, professor of political science at the University of Notre Dame, writing in the February 1962 *Phi Delta Kappan* makes the point that

"If teaching about communism becomes a matter of controversy between Right and Left, the country as a whole will suffer a terrible, self-inflicted wound. It is possible to keep our schools out of political controversy by sticking painstakingly to the subject of communism, its nature and its actions. The temptation to be sidetracked into other subjects should be firmly resisted. Thus in discussing communism it should be clear that one is not discussing American foreign policy, past or present."

Difficult though the subject may be, the foreign policies of communists must be studied because these policies are directly related to communistic imperialism. The front lines of the great world battle between democracy and communism are in the area of foreign policy. In the realm of foreign policy, it seems that the communists insist on Queensbury rules for the opposition and sandlot rules for themselves. Their operating principle appears to be "What is mine is mine—what is yours is negotiable." This cynicism which runs through the entire process has been characteristic of communist foreign policy.

GUIDELINE SEVEN

Emphasize that the ultimate goals of communism have, to date, remained largely unaltered but that the strategy and tactics of world communism shift frequently depending upon circumstances of time and place.

The goal of communizing the entire world, proclaimed by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other communist ideologists, is still the goal of communists today. Communism elevates its preferences to the status of moral imperatives for all the rest of the world and is willing to use force, revolution, deceit, and any other means to impose them on all peoples. From the standpoint of democratic peoples, this is the most repugnant—and the most dangerous—aspect of communism.

The shifts in communistic strategy and tactics are exceedingly difficult

for democratic peoples to understand and assess. The twists and turns of communist foreign policies and the facility with which communists break treaties and renege on promises are common illustrations of this.

All governments and indeed all human institutions are a mixture of theory or philosophy and practice—of fact and facade. This is especially true of communism. Governmental practices in the Soviet Union are not consistent with the fine phrases of the Soviet Constitution, and this same thing is true in all other countries under communist domination. Communist citizens do not, in fact, have the free choices nor do they participate in policy determination as the communist ideology would have the world believe. Claims for religious toleration are not substantiated by the facts.

At the same time, it is easy to come to the conclusion that communism is fixed, unbending, and unchanging. Neither is this true. Significant changes in communism have occurred in the Soviet Union, in Yugoslavia, in China, and in other places. Where time permits, class study of these changes will be repaid by a fuller, more complete, and more accurate understanding of world communism. But the procedural changes do not imply that there has been a change in goals. The student must understand clearly that communism is a political faith, a religion, to its adherents. He must learn that he cannot gauge, predict, and judge communist behavior and actions according to standards of behavior and morality with which he is accustomed. The student must realize that the communist insists that only communist aims and goals are acceptable ones. The student must learn that the communist will do whatever may be expedient at the moment toward achieving these goals.

GUIDELINE EIGHT

Study the operations of the communists in the United States. Contemporary accounts in newspapers and magazines, and reports published by the United States Government Printing Office of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary and the House Un-American Activities Committees will document the history of Communist party activities in the United States. Unless these problems which have affected the United States are discussed the student may be inclined to consider the problems of communism as being remote to him. The attempted infiltrations into other groups, and the use of cherished American civil liberties as propaganda devices to promote communism might be objects of study. The legal status of the Communist party in the United States should be understood.

The above set of guidelines suggesting areas of study is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. In developing units of study of communism, however, it would appear that these would be essential areas of study. In some of the guidelines which follow in succeeding sections there will be suggestions concerning the selection of materials for the study of these areas as well as guidelines for classroom procedures.

GUIDELINE ONE

Before presenting the subject to the class, the teacher should determine that there is available adequate resource material.

In most instances, the problem surrounding an adequate presentation on the topic of communism will not be lack of information. A great deal has been written about communism and a great amount of additional material is constantly coming from the presses. For the high school student, the problem is more that of having the necessary background of understanding to assimilate and analyze what he has opportunity to read.

GUIDELINES for SELECTING MATERIALS

Attention is directed to bibliographical compilations which might be useful in determining adequacy of library resources. One of these bibliographies has been prepared by the National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. This is a compilation entitled *A Selected Annotated Bibliography To Assist Teachers In Teaching About Communism*. The price of this is twenty-five cents. The list is primarily for use by teachers and pupils in the senior high school, although some of the items would be useful at the junior high school level.

GUIDELINE TWO

Follow accepted professional criteria in selecting text and library materials. The materials should be written by authors thoroughly familiar with their subject matter. The materials selected should be carefully documented. The source and historical date are both of significance. Careful documentation provides an opportunity to check whether materials are accurately quoted, whether they are quoted in or out of context, etc. Some publications may be the result of good intentions, but weakened because of exaggerated or inaccurate statements.

GUIDELINE THREE

Check the library reference services to discover available materials. Much is being written and new materials are being developed so rapidly that it is not practical in this pamphlet to provide such information.

There are high school level textbooks devoted to teaching about communism presently available,* and publishers have other similar textbooks scheduled for publication. In addition to general textbooks there are many types of specialized information. Also there are available many popular type "primers" or similar simplified materials, often in paperback form, which will be useful. Standard library reference services and professional journals, particularly in the social studies, will keep the teacher up-to-date and informed with reference to availability of materials.

GUIDELINE FOUR

Check with professional sources such as state departments of education, state and national professional groups for information and teaching units.

Recent surveys of state departments of education indicate that a number of them have developed resource and teaching units about communism. Where these have not been developed by the state they generally have information about schools in the state which have developed such materials locally. The National Council for the Social Studies is developing material for use by teachers which can be purchased from its headquarters at 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Information including prices is available upon request.

School administrators interested in how teaching about communism has been carried out in a number of large cities, may secure a report entitled *Teaching About Communism and Democracy in the Public Schools*, which may be purchased for fifty cents from the Institute for American Strategy, 140 South Dearborn Street, Chicago 3, Illinois.

* The bibliography referred to on the previous page lists these textbooks.

It has been said that in a democracy issues are aired and are then either talked into solution or talked out of existence. This is probably true of domestic issues in which the American people themselves have the power of decision-making. Unfortunately, with the complex issues of communism in the modern world, there is no simple matter of merely talking the issue into solution or out of existence. Talk there is—a great deal of it. Because the topic of communism arouses many emotions, the difficult part of the teacher's assignment in analyzing his classroom procedures will be to minimize the emotional aspects and maximize the factual aspects. It is the opinion of the Joint Committee that the facts will refute the allegations of communism. Let the facts speak. Following are some suggested guidelines the teacher should remember in analyzing his classroom procedures.

GUIDELINES for CLASSROOM PROCEDURE

GUIDELINE ONE

The teacher himself should be well informed on the material to be covered.

Special efforts need to be made nationally to provide schools of instruction for teachers to enable them to prepare themselves adequately. Some colleges and universities are promoting summer courses of instruction, workshops, etc. Much more of this is needed.

A good example of sound preparation for teaching about communism is found in Florida. All public institutions of higher learning, including public junior colleges, and a number of private institutions have summer workshops for teachers teaching about communism.

GUIDELINE TWO

The teacher should understand that at the high school level, particularly, it will be easy to lose sight of the main issues simply by

immersing students in a sea of unintegrated facts. Developing and clearly stating objectives will help the teacher in avoiding this danger.

For example in developing their own units of instruction the schools of Richmond, Virginia developed a set of objectives as follows:

- (1) To develop understanding and appreciation of and to cultivate loyalties to principles of democracy through a study of the contrasting principles of communism;
- (2) To build a greater confidence in and respect for the best in American political, social, and economic institutions, in order to inspire students to a higher sense of responsibility in our community, state, and nation;
- (3) To define the freedom of the individual as it exists in theory, law, and practice under existing governments;
- (4) To analyze the role, interpretation, and historical perspective of Russian imperialism today;
- (5) To bring into focus the origin and growth of communism, with Russia as the logical revolutionary testing ground;
- (6) To aid the student in understanding the constantly changing and expanding force of international communism through the uncommitted nations;
- (7) To alert the student to an awareness of international communism as a factor in the Western Hemisphere and to recognize its stages of infiltration;
- (8) To create on the part of each student an awareness of the deadly threat of international communism to American institutions;
- (9) To emphasize the violent rejection of certain phases of basic Marxist philosophy by Russian dictators;
- (10) To compare various "isms" and enable the student to evaluate and contrast the different ideologies;
- (11) To help the student recognize and understand international communist techniques of brainwashing and propaganda;
- (12) To alert the student to the difference in semantics, particularly with such words as, democracy, peace, freedom, liberty, and peaceful co-existence;
- (13) To lead the student to an awareness of the fact that nationalistic conflicts (population explosion, religious views, ideological differences) would still remain even if communism were to disappear;
- (14) To explain that Russian nationalism feeds Russian communism, the latter frequently yielding to the former in a conflict;
- (15) To help the student understand that to the communists, existing political boundaries are no deterrent to economic penetration, mental subversion, and political infiltration;
- (16) To demonstrate to the student that a policy of containment has been only a partial deterrent to the spread of international communism;
- (17) To present an objective view of the American diplomatic acceptance of certain dictatorial governments;
- (18) To help the student see the differences between the alluring promises and the enslaving practices of communism.

GUIDELINE THREE

The materials presented should be within the range of knowledge, maturity, and competence of the students.

GUIDELINE FOUR

The practices of the communist system should be presented in an accurate and factual manner. It is not necessary to maintain the position that everything about communism is a failure, in an effort to indicate its weaknesses.

GUIDELINE FIVE

Sufficient time should be provided for adequate presentation and discussion of the problem.

The question is apt to occur as to whether it is best to institute a special course on communism. Generally speaking this would not appear advisable. However local school authorities will be in the best position to judge this. Although the social studies curriculum is already crowded, the development of units at different grade levels for inclusion in the social studies area would normally seem preferable to the inauguration of special courses. Communism as a major threat to democratic institutions should be given study in depth to the degree necessary that American citizens require to meet the challenge.

The Christian Science Monitor said editorially on Monday, October 30, 1961:

The Struggle Against Communism

The most precious values known to men continue to be in danger.

These are, in essence, the right to work out one's own destiny, under God, in a society where the individual is of primary importance. These values are protected by constitutional government. Individual opportunity is sought in the framework of the good of all.

Today the Communist bloc presents a vast threat to the independence of men and nations. Its aggressive thrust is manifest through military power, economic pressures, subversion, and infiltration. Communism also reaches deep within nations, striving to subvert, mesmerize, control. After 16 postwar years in which the United States has striven to seal off communism on the one hand, and aid recovering or growing nations on the other, it is no wonder that many Americans feel frustrated and alarmed as communism seems to be stronger than ever. . . .

We have the abiding conviction that communism's threats inside America, and to freedom in the world, can best be fought by making free institutions work better. That means arousing individual citizens to their responsibilities and opportunities, sanely, vigorously, fearlessly.

Government at every level must work with greater intelligence and integrity. Economic growth, through the free play of the competitive enterprise system, must provide the employment and expansion which population growth requires. Obstacles to growth must be removed, incentives enlarged.

There are deep spiritual values in an individual-based society. Lived and demonstrated, these values are an invincible tower of strength. Communism's very falsehood carries with it the seeds of ultimate destruction. Freedom is man's birthright. Its survival and triumph are inevitable.

The editorial shows why there is such a vast national interest in the struggle against communism. Teachers must understand that the

GUIDELINES for COMMUNITY RELATIONS

whole nation feels it has a stake in this contest. Understandably there will be interest and concern in any community as to what the school is doing. Therefore the following guidelines are offered as suggestions which might assist school and community to work together harmoniously.

GUIDELINE ONE

The school board should develop a clear statement regarding its policy concerning the teaching about communism. The school board might wish to study a statement such as *Controversial Issues In The Classroom*, (National Education Association, 1201 16th St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C. price fifty cents). The National Association of Secondary School Principals has issued a pamphlet entitled *Social Studies in the Comprehensive Secondary School* (NASSP, 1201 16th St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C., single copies free) which will provide boards of education with suggestions for developing a policy statement.

Several policy statements are quoted below as representative of some of the types of statements which might be studied by local boards in setting up their own policy statements. Employees of the school district, naturally desire to perform their duties within the scope of school board policies. It is incumbent upon a school board to develop such policies clearly understood, which will enable the teacher to perform his duties with some degree of security.

UTAH DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The Study Of Controversial Issues

In order to safeguard the teacher and to insure students the right to discuss controversial issues, the State Board of Education has adopted a policy statement which is contained in the *Social Studies for Utah Schools* and RECOMMENDS THAT THIS STATEMENT BECOME THE POLICY UNDER WHICH SUCH ISSUES ARE DISCUSSED IN ALL PHASES OF THE PROGRAM, INCLUDING ADULT EDUCATION, FOR STRENGTHENING AMERICA.

The statement is as follows:

The social studies content fields, by their very nature, contain many areas of

of difference of opinions, to avoid which would virtually remove social studies from the curriculum. Hence, this statement of policy on controversial issues seeks to identify and protect the rights of pupils, teachers, and patrons of our schools.

Each pupil should have the right, under competent guidance and instruction and in an atmosphere free from bias and prejudice, to study any question appropriate to his maturity level and to express an opinion on it without jeopardizing his relations with school or teacher.

School administrators should be certain that teachers of controversial areas are competent and that they make fair presentation of all sides of any issue. Administrators should recognize that at times it is necessary for a teacher to express an opinion but should insist that such opinions be clearly stated as such and be subject to challenge. They should also recognize that the teacher be fair. They should see that the teacher employ, as far as possible, the scientific method of study in presenting controversial issues.

Teachers, administrators, and parents should be aware of the fact that to advocate some things is treason, but to teach about them is essential in order to alert youth to their dangers. They and their pupils should know that dictatorships build their propaganda on failures in democracy; therefore, pupils should be given experiences in studying the failures as well as the successes in democratic society. Teachers should be aware of their role as guides, leading their pupils to the facts through the processes of sound thinking which lead to wise policy decisions.

OMAHA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Omaha, Nebraska

The Study Of Controversial Issues

- a. Controversial issues arise from conflicts within the cherished interests, belief, or affiliations of large groups of our citizens. Such issues involve important proposals or policies concerning which our citizens hold different points of view. The American heritage and our established traditions are not controversial. Most of the school curriculum is composed of established truths and accepted values.

Free discussion of controversial issues is the heart of the democratic process. Freedom of speech and free access to information are among our most cherished traditions. Only through the study of such issues—political, economic, or social—does youth develop abilities needed for citizenship in our democracy.

- b. Without minimizing the importance of established truths and values, it shall be the policy of the Omaha Public Schools to foster dispassionate, unprejudiced, scientific studies of controversial issues in an atmosphere free from bias and prejudice.
- c. The teacher shall serve as an impartial moderator and shall not attempt either directly or indirectly to limit or control the judgment of his pupils on controversial issues. It is the intent of this policy that the teacher shall foster the study of such issues rather than teach a particular viewpoint in regard to them.
- d. The above policy defines the study of controversial issues in terms of the rights of pupils rather than in terms of the rights of teachers.

The pupil shall have the right to study any issue in accordance with his maturity, shall have the right to free access to all relevant materials including those which circulate freely in the community, shall have the right to study under competent instruction in an atmosphere free from partisanship, and shall have the right to express his opinions on controversial issues without jeopardizing his relationship with his teachers or the school.

SALINAS UNION HIGH SCHOOL DISTRICT (California)

Academic Freedom

Wide latitude is sometimes claimed in the name of academic freedom. "Academic freedom" is historically the freedom of a scholar to teach the subject or subjects in which he is competent in such a way as to train students in the processes that are effective for intellectual pursuits. It is not freedom to propagandize for "causes," parties or sects. A teacher should respect this as a self-limitation. The school authorities and the public should feel a corresponding obligation to protect the teacher against interference in teaching a subject or subjects in which he is competent.

Teaching Of Controversial Subjects

The basic task of education is the development of a young person's intellectual, emotional and physical personality. Education is a two-fold process. The individual must have experiences over a broad field, and he must find the meaning of these experiences. The contribution of the school is to help young people broaden their range of experiences and to help them discover meanings among those experiences which are useful and usable in living.

A democracy calls upon its citizens to help make vital policy decisions. These decisions are made intelligently or otherwise. One of the jobs of the school is to prepare an individual to be a useful citizen. If there are no different points of view on public questions; if there are no issues in controversy, there is no need to make decisions. In a democracy, this condition cannot exist. Today, the whole world is the bailiwick of the effective citizen. He must be helped to be at home among the world's problems and helped to understand them.

To learn to participate effectively in the decision-making process as a citizen in our American democratic society, students need training in the intelligent discussion of questions on which there is controversy. Teachers should confine their teachings to the facts as they are known on the controversial questions or to generally recognized hypotheses, keeping in mind that every controversial topic may not be appropriate for discussion in every class at any particular time. Teachers should recognize in the teaching of controversial subjects that there are limits imposed by the emotional content of the topic, by the age-level and maturity of the class, and by the social climate of the community at the time with reference to a particular subject. Teachers should endeavor to restrict discussion of topics to those appropriate and related to the subject being taught.

All teaching, including that done on controversial issues, should strive to inculcate in the students pride in themselves as inheritors of American traditions, and inculcate loyalty to the ideals which should shape their lives.

Adopted 5/23/61

GUIDELINE TWO

In general, avoid the bizarre, the headline hunting type of activity which inflames a community. No particular useful purpose is served by headline hunting. The classroom is dedicated to a factual analysis of ideas and facts. Teachers should understand their community well enough to know whether or not it needs to have any formal explanation of what the school is doing in regard to teaching about communism. If teachers follow good instructional practices, in which they have been trained and which are the result of professional research, they should not find their role difficult. The members of the Joint Committee believe that frequently teachers do not teach about communism lest they be misunderstood in the community and that there be accusations that they are in fact teaching communism. However, the members of the Joint Committee feel that the American people by and large are intensely interested in having the boys and girls of America learn the

facts about communism. There are occasionally differences in approach. These are not as significant as the content and the general philosophy of what the school is attempting to do.

GUIDELINE THREE

Avoid "entangling alliances" with groups outside of the school. There are many organizations in America dedicated to the fight against communism. Some of these oppose each other, not in their objective but in their approach to the problem. Where these groups are controversial it is best for the school to remain aloof. There are many highly emotional approaches to communism which form the basis of some organizations' programs. The teacher may or may not agree with the techniques used by such organizations. There is room for freedom of action in this country and various kinds of community organization are certainly in the framework of what is permissible. These groups should not, however, attempt to use the school room as a sounding board for their particular philosophy. Nor should a teacher attempt to draw them into the classroom where the net gain will be only fruitless controversy. Where a teacher abdicates his own instructional position to an outside group, he generally invites trouble.

CONCLUSION

In presenting the above material, the members of the Joint Committee recognize that they have not afforded teachers with an exhaustive treatment of communism. This manual is an attempt to make some suggestions which will be of assistance to a classroom teacher in developing material for work in the classroom. The development of teaching units is a professional responsibility. It is the responsibility of the individual teacher or of the teachers within a school system. The techniques and procedures are professional responsibilities.

Most Americans believe that one of the important duties of every teacher is to instill into the hearts of his pupils, an appreciation of democracy, its freedoms and its responsibilities. Most Americans likewise believe that every teacher needs to alert students to dangers to democracy.

The members of the Joint Committee realize that in recent years the word **democracy** itself has become controversial and that there are those who do not believe that the word should properly be used to describe the American political system. The Joint Committee sees no good reason to surrender this word to the communists. The word democracy has deep significance in the hearts and minds of men. It has held that significance for countless generations of time. In the United States and in some other nations of the world democracy as an ideal and as a goal is practiced in varying ways. It is not our duty to criticize what others may choose for themselves, but it is our duty to safeguard what we have, to understand what we have, and to present as a heritage to the future, those noblest of ideals as stated in our own Declaration of Independence that

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to protect their Safety and Happiness."

This is the American dream and a factual analytical study will reveal that communism has no answers in political, economic or social theory which approach it in grandeur or in vision.

